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ABSTRACT

The paper reviews changes in core values of American society from 1876-1976 from a perspective of changes in allocation of time between work and nonwork. According to the author, core values motivate and direct people in a society. An historical review of sociological literature indicates a late 20th century trend away from the Protestant Work Ethic toward an increase in amount of time spent on leisure pursuits. This new ethic is reflected by social discontinuity and experimentation, as indicated by increased alienation, apathy, violence, and a decline in the authority of institutions. Explanations of discontinuity, social change, and the Protestant Work Ethic are analyzed for their contribution to the demise of the traditional American ethic. Examination of current lifestyles indicates that mass consumption and demand for creative and communal fulfillment are frequent aesthetic-ethical responses to social change. The conclusion is that the core values of American society now revolve around a leisure ethic which incorporates personal gratification, satisfaction in interpersonal relations, and an appreciation of nature. The author suggests that additional research is needed which will investigate whether this ethical pattern exists and is of a permanent nature. (Author/DB)

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CHANGING CORE VALUES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: 1876-1976

by

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A paper prepared for presentation at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association September 5-9, 1977, Chicago, Illinois.

Core values motivate and direct a society's people. They form the society's world view and essential elan vital.

Talcott Parsons (et al., 1961) notes that such values function as the cybernetic control center of a given society. P. Sorokin (1937) illustrates the crucial role of basic societal values in his monumental study of Social and Cultural Dynamics. He compares different time periods in Western civilization concluding that each period favors one of three different value orientations: sensate, ideational, or idealistic. George Gurvitch (1961) developed an analytical model of social reality in which structured social phenomena such as geographical setting, institutionalized patterns, and social roles occupy different depth levels. The depth level of each is determined by its accessibility to different methods of observation. Social symbols, myths, values, ideals and ideas are at the depest levels. They are the most difficult to study and the least susceptible to change. Like Parsons, he sees their importance for the control and direction of a society as paramount (cf. Bosserman, 1968:121 ff).

I argue in this paper that the fundamental core values in American society are changing. In this sense I agree with P. Sorokin (1941) that contemporary, industrialized societies

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are passing through the decline of sensate culture and moving either towards a new ideational, or new idealistic super-system, or into oblivion. Most recently, Daniel Bell (1973; 1976) sees the emergence of a Post-Industrial Society which has and will have qualitatively different core values. He notes the demise of the Puritan-Protestant Work Ethic began in the post-World War I period with the appearance of a society motivated by very different values. The present time is an interim situation, a period of discontinuity before a new value clustering stabilizes. In this respect, I suggest that a new ethic is in the making replacing the now defunct Protestant Work value structure. I take issue with the basic conclusions of Seymour Lipset's (1967) very valuable studies on the United States as a new nation. He saw an unbroken connection with the Protestant Ethic from its inception in colonial America to the early 1960's. I find on the contrary, that the Work Ethic remains only in the rhetoric of Presidential Labor Day speeches and commencement addresses of corporation executives. It has less and less to do with the everyday life of Americans. Likewise, the fascinating analysis of the Protestant Ethic E. A. Tiryakian (1975:1-53) makes in a recent article is very helpful for this study, but his conclusions are highly questionable. He too sees an unbroken continuity in the values of achievement, hard work, and diligence. Both Lipset and Tiryakian fail to see the growth

of a consumption society which has as its main attributes prodigality and immediate gratification. Such an ethic of hedonism is almost wholly self-serving. Individual pleasure takes priority over communal solidarity.

I also argue that contemporary modernity has obliterated the basic, necessary distinction between the sacred and the profane. This is another sense in which the Protestant Ethic has lost its hold. For a long time the Ethic had a transcendent reference. Since the gilded age at the turn of the century that transcendence has eroded before the onslaught of the "Gospel of Wealth" and more recently the consumption imperative. What the current period of discontinuity represents is one of experimentation. A general, agonizing search is on for a new transcendence. The present is fraught with dangers. Levels of anomie, alienation, apathy and violence are high indicating that this is a period of discontinuity. Another indicator is the decline in authority of institutions. The family, religion, economy, polity, and education are experiencing crisis.

A main concept for this analysis is the notion of time.[1] I agree with Kant that time is one of the à priori elements

by which human beings order their lives both individually and collectively. All systems of time are the products of group life. Without a time frame there is no order. If social times change within a society, then a period of disorder or dereglement, to use Durkheim's terse expression, ensues. A change in social times is one of the most salient ways to monitor social change. This analysis of time has been patently lacking in the studies of scholars such as Lipset, Bell and Tiryakian.[2] Over the past one hundred years the allocation of time between work and non-work has been changing significantly. Vital changes in the rhythm between work and free time have especially occurred since World War II. My principal thesis is that the change in axial values of American society is directly related to the changes in the social time of people living in this nation. Leisure in all its multiple meanings plays the most critical role in fashioning new life styles. These life styles are counter to the Protestant Ethic revealing a different ethic which now motivates social behavior.

In order to examine these ideas I will proceed as follows: First, I will briefly define the meaning of discontinuity and social change; second, I shall outline the basic components of the Protestant Work Ethic as it existed until the late 19th century; third, will follow a description of this social ethic's demise and why it occurred especially in conjunction with changes in social time. Fourth, I will examine leisure time and the lifestyles it promotes. Leisure time is the locus of the new values.

The Discontinuity in Core Values

Societal change is a qualitative change. E.A. Tiryakian (1967:71-73) explains the meaning of this notion:

> ...societal change (is)... the change in the organizational structure of a total society. Such a change is radical in the sense of being a total transformation of institutional structures, a recasting of the social order. It is, therefore, fundamentally a qualitative change, a discontinuity or 'leap' in the general normative pattern of the organization, which will be manifested in all major foci of institutional structure. What therefore, distinguishes a revolution as a major type of societal change from other social upheavals is not the magnitude of physical violence, as is commonly argued, but its permeation of the social structure.

The key conceptions in this description are the encompassing nature of the change, that societal change is revolutionary change, and that implicity value changes precede political or organizational changes. The studies of P.Sorokin, Max Weber, George Gurvitch, and Talcott Parsons convince me that the locus of societal change is in the axial values which serve to "control" or motivate the members of a real group, in this case a society. These axial values are in dialectical tension with the modes and means of production. In Sorokin's (1941:17) words,

> Any great culture, instead of being a mere dumping place of a multitude of diverse cultural phenomena, existing side by side and unrelated to one another, represents a unity or individuality whose parts are permeated by the same fundamental principle and articulate the same basic value. The dominant part of the fine arts and science of such a unified culture, of its philosophy and religion, of its ethics and law, of its main forms of social, economic, and political organization, of most of its mores and manners, of its ways of life and mentality, all articulate, each in its own way, this basic principle and value. This serves as its major premise and foundation.

Likewise, Talcott Parsons (et al 1961:72) describes core values as a cybernetic control center for society.

> It may be difficult to define magnitude of impact; however, given approximate equality of magnitude, the probability of producing structural change is greater in proportion to the position in the order of control at which the impact of its principal disturbing influence occurs. This principle is based on the assumption that stable systems have mechanisms which can absorb considerable internal strains, and thus endogenous or exogenous variabilities impinging at lower levels in the hierarchy of control may be neutralized before extending structural changes to higher levels. It follows that the crucial focus of the problem of change lies in the stability of the value system.

In the Durkheinian sense such primordial values are sacred. When these become profaned through the dynamics of modernity (cf. Balandier, 1970:15-38) in contemporary industrial society, they lose their essential attribute to bind and integrate.

This profaning of society's sacred values affects all basic institutions. I speak here of the family, religion, education, economy and polity. A discontinuity appears in

the normative (valuing) patterns of these institutions. Expected relationships no longer hold. There are fundamental changes in, for example, the way fathers relate to sons, workers to patrons, students to teachers, and religious adherents to priests. Deauthorization occurs on a widespread scale throughout all these institutions (Yankelovich, 1974). Urie Bronfenbrenner points to this for the family when he notes that the make-up of the family is very different from what it was 50 years ago even 25 years ago, and the number and length of interactions among family members has drastically declined over the past few decades (Bronfenbenner, 1977; Novaks, 1976; Rapaport and Rapaport, 1975). Many social forces have brought this about. Especially important is the role of technology. Certainly all the institutions interact and mutually produce these calamitous changes. Indicators of society-wide decline in authority (the hold of old axial values) is apparent in the increase in crime, especially criminality among the young, the rise of divorce rates, illegitimate births, abortions, suicides among the young, job dissatisfaction, absentism, decline in religious practice, in academic performance and belief in education's value - especially the liberal arts. P.A. Sorokin (1941:775) wrote of these conditions forty years ago. The relevancy of his conclusions is patently evident.

> Sensate values will become still more relative and atomistic until they are ground into dust devoid of any universal recognition and hinding power. The boundary line between the true and false, the right and wrong, the beautiful and ugly, positive and negative values, will be obliterated increasingly until mental, moral, aesthetic and social anarchy reigns supreme.

The discontinuity in established, societal values which undergird normative, anticipated behavior is a critical stage in societal change, i.e., revolutionary change. The indicators of such an all-encompassing mutation are clearly present. Precipitating events producing this mutation include vast technological changes in electronics, transportation, nuclear power, communications and production. Equally impressive changes in social times, the uses of space, social stratification, bureaucratization, the social organization of production, and demographic patterns (urbanization and suburbanization) have provoked this discontinuity in what Americans value. Before I describe the present focal values, I want to outline the content of the Protestant Work Ethic which grew up with America as a new nation and what has happened to it historically.

The Protestant Work Ethic

The rising bourgeoisie of 17th century America looked upon work as a calling. Jean Calvin's conception of religion was transformed into the idea that the pursuit of what once was filthy lucre is not merely a possible goal, but a duty.

Seeking money was not a new phenomenon in the 17th century. What was new was the change of moral standards which converted a natural frailty into an ornament of the spirit, and canonized as economic virtues habits which in earlier ages had been denounced as vices (Parsons, 1930). One is called to make money. Labor is not merely an economic means, but a spiritual end. Those predestined for heaven (the elect) are to be diligent, thrifty, sober, and prudent. The riches that accrue are a certain sign one is of the elect. One's calling "is not a condition in which the individual is born, but a strenuous and exacting enterprise to be chosen by himself, and to be pursued with a sense of religious responsibility"(Parsons, 1930).

This sense of religious responsibility on the part of the burgeoning bourgeoisie coalesced with the rise of capitalistic enterprise. The qualities of the instrumental values of thrift, sobriety, prudence, and hard work made up the Protestant Ethic. It was clearly tied to religious

responsibility thus making the irrational goals of work and the making of money as ends in themselves, spiritual duty, indeed a revolutionary ideal! The capitalist revolution was not solely the result of changed technologies and material conditions. Indeed, from the most unlikely source, religion, came a key motivation for capitalistic endeavor. Making money is a religious obligation, a spritual calling. The dialectical intertwining material conditions and cultural values produced the capitalist society.

This other-worldly beginning was soon brought down to earth "in the form of the Work Ethic, a set of this worldly goals expressing a worldly asceticism. God became a distant regulating force. The deist, Benjamin Franklin, expresses perfectly the spirit of capitalism: "Remember, that time is money... Remember, that credit is money...Remember, that money is of the prolific, generative nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on... He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds." To Franklin the greatest virtues after industry and frugality, are punctuality and justice in all dealings.

Weber could have quoted others from the Way to Wealth: "Sloth like Rust, consumes faster than Labour wears; while

the used key is always bright." "He that hath an Estate; and he that hath a calling, hath an Office of Profit and Honour." "God gives all Things to Industry." "Be ashamed to catch yourself idle." "Trouble springs from Idleness, and grevious Toil from needless Ease."[3] (Muelder, 1953:67-68)

Though there remains a religious tinge to Franklin's apherisme (due no doubt, to his strict calvinist upbringing), the separation of the individual from the religious community was well on its way. The rugged individual emerges seeking the secular gospels of work and wealth.

The late 19th century brought on the rapid growth of large-sale industry in the United States. The nation entered what Mark Twain called the Gilded Age. Gone almost completely is a transcendent reference to work as a calling. Russel H. Conwell delivered his famous lecture Acres of Diamonds more than 6,000 times. It is a matchless expression of complacency and acquisitiveness.

> To secure wealth is an honorable ambition, and is the great test of a person's usefulness to other.. Money is power, to do good with it when obtained. Tens of thousands of men and women get rich honestly. But they

> are often accused by an envious, lazy, crowd of unsuccessful persons of being dishonest and oppressive. I say, Get Rich, Get Rich! But get money honestly, or it will be a withering curse (Muelder, 1953:70).

Muelder (1953:70) notes that though many gave liberally, "(they) did not fear the curse." Other exponents of this secular gospel fo work and wealth were Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Horatio Alger, William McGuffey, and Henry Ford.

Emulating these elites the secular creed became a part of small-town, middle-class thought. The Lynds' (1937:406 ff; quoted in Muelder, 1953:75-76) study of Muncie, Indiana conducted during the 1920's and 1930's found "Middletowners" believed:

> That one should be hard-working and persevering. Hard work is the key to success.
> That a man owes it to himself, to his family, and society to "succeed."
> That social welfare, in Middletown and elsewhere, is the result of two factors working together- the natural law of progress and the individual law of initiative, hard work, and thrift - and therefore:
> That any interference with either of the two is undesirable, "The Lord helps him who helps himself."

That society should not coddle the man who does not work hard and save, for if a man does not "get on" it is his own fault.

That "the strongest and best should survive, for that is the law of nature, after all"

That economic conditions are the result of a natural order which cannot be changed by man-made laws.

That every man for himself is the right and necessary law of the business world, "tempered, of course, with judgment and fair dealing."

That competition is what makes progress and has made the United States great.

That ordinarily any men willing to work can get a job.

That "any man who is willing to work hard and be thrifty and improve his spare time can get to the top. That's the American way, and it's as true as it ever was."

That the captains of industry are social benefactors because they create employment. "Where'd all our jobs be if it wasn't for them?"

That capital is simply accumulated savings of these people with foresight.

That if you "make it too easy" for the unemployed and people like that they will impose on you.

That because of "poor, weak human nature" there will always be some people too lazy to work, too spendthrift to save, too short-sighted to plan. "Doesn't the Bible prove this when it says, 'The poor ye have always with you?'"

That idleness and thriftlessness are only encouraged by making charity too easy.

The Middletowners' Credo is a strange mixture of "social Darwinism", the frontier spirit, and decadent Calvinism. Stranger still is that this Middletown or small-town mentality persisted in the 1930's when the Great Depression put millions of Americans out of work. This decadent Protestant Ethic really survived only in small-town America and such a way of living was rapidly dying. World War II took care of that.

The second World War, once it was over, set in motion the possibility for incredible domestic production. The goods rolled off the assembly lines. An eager public gobbled up these durable goods and luxuries from which they were deprived during the war years. This was the period of the most intensive consumption. Credit became easier than ever before. There was no stigma left to buying "on time." What had started as a lower class habit diffused upward by Madison Avenue's careful selection of terms which gave

installment buying respectability for the middle and upper-middle classes. Banks made it easy by allowing persons to write checks "on credit" and pay later. Everything - or just about - became available to just about everyone above the poverty line.

Historically mass consumption had started much earlier. The serious breakdown of most of the remnants of the Protestant Ethic - in small town America - began during and after World War I and essentially ended after World War II. The 1920 census showed for the first time that more people lived in urban areas than in rural, small towns and villages. The War had mobilized the population for defense work. People flocked to the cities. Women entered the labor market in much greater rates. New technologies and social inventions helped increase productivity without increasing the work force. The 1920's saw a serious decline in new immigrant labor. Daniel Bell (1976:66) writes about these twin "revolutions."

> Mass consumption...was made possible by revolutions in technology, principally the application of electrical energy to household tasks (washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and the like), and by three social inventions: mass production on the assembly line, which made a cheap automobile possible; the development

> of marketing, which rationalized the art of identifying different kinds of buying groups and whetting consumer appetites; and the spread of installment buying, which more than any other social device, broke the old Protestant fear of debt. The concomitant revolution in transportation and communications laid the basis for a national society and the beginning of a consumer culture.

Bell (1976:69) goes on to point out that the breakdown in small-town America was particularly caused by three technological inventions: the automobile, the motion picture, and radio. All three radically broke down the close horizons of small town and opened up to inhabitants heretofore acquainted only with familiar people and familiar things, worlds and life-styles never imagined. The auto changed social habits in an almost traumatic way. Peter Bagdonovich's film "The Last Picture Show" illustrates poignantly how these changes continued unabated after World War II. Films in the 1920's and 1930's affected adolescents particularly. "They modeled themselves after movie stars, repeated movie jokes and gestures, learned the subtleties of behavior between the sexes, and thus developed a veneer of sophistication... Films glorified the cult of the young, and middle aged men and women were advised "to make hay while the sun shines."

Three sociological inventions: advertising, planned obsolescence and credit did their part in developing the gospel of consumption and production. Their result was a new ethic of consumption which had the ironic and contradictory effect of undermining the very motor force which enabled capitalism to develop in the first place, namely the Protestant Ethic. Gone were the virtues of thrift, sober living, and quality of work. "Against frugality, selling emphasized prodigality; against asceticism, the lavish display" (Bell, 1976:69).

This description has shown that in the course of the rise and decline of the Protestant Ethic the axial value making up that ethic have given way to very different ones--in many instances their very opposites. This is the intent of Daniel Bell's argument. These <u>are</u> "the cultural contradictions of capitalism." The middle towner's ethic still appears in television advertising, politicians' speeches, and Sunday morning sermons, but the everyday lives of Americans express an over-ripe sensate, hedonistic, fun-morality (cf. Sorokin, 1941; Kando, 1975:270; Wolfenstein, 1959:86-95).

The basic conclusion I make from this historical analysis is that the axial values have changed. Arguments which seek to show that the core values revolving around the Protestant Work Ethic have persisted from the beginning

to the present simply do not hold. I quote Seymour Lipset who has sought to present such a line of reasoning. This excerpt effectively helps us nail down the point we're trying to make.

> The approach to value analysis in this book assumes a perspective taken by Max Weber (1949:182-185). Much of contemporary sociology has neglected his insight in explaining differences in national systems by specifying key historical events which set one process in motion in one country and a second in another. He, in fact, used the analogy of loaded dice: once the dice came up with a certain number they would tend to come up with the same number again. In other words historical events establish values and predispositions, and these in turn determine later events. In this way values become determinants of the direction of social change. Following the logic of Weber's analysis of the genesis of capitalism, we may argue that the existence of certain values is a prerequisite for some of the characteristics of contemporary America. Furthermore, these characteristics may become more pronounced as these values interact with material condition (Lipset, 1967:8).

My basic disagreement with Lipset and Tiryakian is that they did not take into account in their own writings certain events which have "loaded the dice" differently. I have already mentioned the impact of the 1920's, i.e., the change to a mass consumption economy. The Protestant Ethic of material achievement tied to certain ways of behaving such as frugality, sobriety, hard work, and diligence has long since been eroded by these historical occurrences. The radical shift in social times and the altered use of space are equally important events. The conditions are not the same as these authors imagine. There is discontinuity because a different set of loaded dice have been thrown into play.

I want now to do a more scrupulous analysis of time and its impact on value change. This is a dimension which has strangely been left out of most discussions concerning societal values.

Social Times and Value Change

Underlying the whole development of capitalism and industrialization was a mutational change in the social times of society.

> The whole thing is time. That is, I think one reason rich kids tend to be fanatics about politics: they have time. Time that's the important thing (Terkel, 1974: XXXIV).

This steel worker's statement provides a dramatic clue to understanding the radical value changes occurring in United States society. Immanual Kant (1908:32-33) noted the importance of time.

> Time is the formal a priori condition of all phenomena without exception. Space, as the pure form of all external phenomena, is the a priori condition only of external phenomena. But all objects of perception, external as well as internal, are determinations of the mind, and, from that point of view, belong to our inner state. And as this inner state comes under time, which is the formal condition of inner perception, time is an a priori condition of all phenomena; it is the immediate condition of inner phenomena, and so the mediate condition of outer phenomena.

Sociologists have emphasized this deterministic, organizing, structural property of time for group life which Kant noted for the individual. They observe that time gives coherence and a patterned regularity to group behavior (Gurvitch, 1964;1961; Moore, 1963; Sorokin and Merton, 1937:615-629). Time is a social product agreed to by members of a group in the process of living together. Time, then, is relative to each social group, to each cultural setting.

Agricultural societies have a set of social times built around the seasons, the rising and setting of the sun, etc. Their activities revolve around preparing the soil, planting, cultivation, and harvest within specific time frames. Industrial societies have entirely different social times related to inventions like the clock, water, steam and coal power, production machinery, transportation and communication devices. Industrial urbanization brought into play radically different rhythmic patterns. Post-industrialism, based on new technologies and production techniques, utilize still different social times. One aspect of this is the allocation of time between work and non-work.

Modern concepts of free time, including leisure were born with industrialization. Work and freed time from work are separate entities for vast numbers of people engaged in the new forms of economic activity associated with industrial production including merchandizing, servicing the products and the consumers, and people-centered work (such as day care centers for young and old, counselling, etc.)

Weekly work time has decreased from 53 hours in 1875 to 38 hours in 1976. Moreover bulk periods of free time have become increasingly available with longer weekends, more holidays, longer vacations, earlier retirement, sabbatical leaves, and later entry into the work force on the part of young people (cf. Bosserman, 1975:89-132). These

new time patterns have had a dramatic impact on the middle class values associated with the Protestant work ethic. Why? Because the greatest part of the freed time from work for vast numbers of people in American society - masses of people- is leisure. This leisure is very closely related to the consumption economy. The fastest growing sector of the economy is leisure products and services. It has now become a $150 billion market (cf. Kaplan, 1970:19-55). And this may be a conservative estimate.

This mutation in social times has redistributed time in such a fashion that 70 percent of the average person's week is freed from economic activity making possible a person choosing to do leisure. (This is not to say that the remaining time is free from other obligations, or that some economic colorations aren't present in such things as do-it-yourself projects.) This leisure is fundamentally self-gratifying, self-enhancing, pleasurable, and done because "it interests me" (cf. Dumazedier, 1974). The spread of leisure time among the population continues. Recent collective bargaining agreements point to a four day work week in the auto industry. That industry serves as the bellweather for the other unions (Washington Post, January 4, 1977). Flexible work scheduling provides another way of ordering time making available more and larger "lumps" of leisure such as longer weekends, longer evenings, longer

vacation periods. Earlier retirement was the choice of nearly 40 percent of the auto workers who can now retire with full pension after 30 years, whatever age. The union estimated only 5 percent would choose to do this.

Free time from work is not only a period of recuperation in order to go back to the mill or office. Large segments of that time are now devoted to those things which interest a person without thought that the activity has some instrumental worth. This is the salient aspect of the mutation in social times.

A Leisure Ethic?

The basic thesis of this paper is that a mutation in social times has occurred. The scientific-technological changes have made possible a productive base sufficient to free time from work as well as increase income for workers. Freed time's most important component is leisure. What is leisure in contemporary society? The nature of leisure today is very different from that which appears in the writings of Aristotle or Aquinas. In a philosophical sense leisure is possible in any sort of time context whether one is at work, doing dishes, or playing with one's children. Sociologically, there is no way to study such a concept of leisure empirically. Moreover, the nature of social times in industrialized society gives a specificity to leisure

which was lacking in ancient times or in contemporary subsistence agricultural cultures. Thus we can say that first of all leisure is a specific type of social time. Second, leisure is a freely-chosen activity that most frequently contains the elements of relaxation and rest, and in which creative self-expression of "persons in the process of becoming" (cf. Rogers, 1961) can take place. Philosophically, I can see that any activity could be "leisurely" but in the 20th century work and family obligations are distinct realms of activity quite removed from leisure. Third, leisure is a frame of mind, a consciousness of being involved in a thought process which is alien to work, to obligation or duty.

This concept of leisure as taking place in a certain type of social time, as being certain types of activity, and incorporating a particular frame of mind, embodies three types of basic values: a) those values related to the person, b) those values having to do with social interaction (culture serves as the symbol system for interaction), and c) those values related to nature, to the whole of environment where people seek a quality of space as a context for a quality of social and personal life.

I want to explore each of these areas but before doing so one major proposition remains to be stated. The scientific and technological mutation which has produced the

freed time and the new life-styles centering in leisure has also produced an aesthetic-ethical response to new structural realities. This response is possible because of reverberating structural changes seen in the decline in the authority of the major institutions. We would do well to see the whole pattern as a dialectical interplay between scientific and technological changes, mutations in social times, decline in institutional authority, and the rise of an aesthetic-ethical response coming out of the new leisure. Albeit, the aesthetic-ethical expressions are varied and contradictory. One basic expression is mass consumption which has undermined the work ethic in its traditional pattern. I have described this in some detail above. A second basic expression is the rise of a demand for creative self and communal fulfillment in work, family, religion, politics, and education. There is an equal demand for authentic ways of interacting; and finally, for a new appreciation of space and the natural environment. Let's look at these last three areas of new values.

The New Values Related to the Person

In a perceptive article Carl Rogers (1961:163-182) describes what it means "to be that self which one truly is." These attributes come from his clients in therapy as they

have expressed them. Rogers summarizes his findings in the following way:

> This pattern of movement seems to mean that the individual moves towards <u>being</u>, knowingly and acceptingly, the process which he inwardly and actually <u>is</u>. He moves away from being what he is not, from being a facade. He is not trying to be more than what he is, with the attendant feelings of insecurity or bombastic defensiveness. He is not trying to be less than he is, with the attendant feelings of guilt or self-depreciation. He is increasingly listening to the deepest recesses of his physiological and emotional being, and finds himself increasingly willing to be, with greater accuracy and depth, that self which he most truly is...that is the path of life which he appears to value most highly, when he is free to move in any direction. It is not simply an intellectual value choice, but seems to be the best description of the groping, tentative, uncertain behaviors by which he moves exploringly toward what he wants to be (Rogers, 1961:175-176)

The new leisure values revolving around the person are most in keeping with this model presented by Rogers and other humanistic psychologists.[4] In sum, becoming a person

is a creative process. Creativity is the key word and a most significant attribute of the new, authentic, participatory leisure.

However, there are destructive tendencies in the current use of freed time. Drug abuse, pornography, self-destructive violence, delinquency, etc. are negative activities which more often than not take place in freed-time. They are the antithesis of self-growth.

The New Values in Social Interaction

The scientific and technological changes have, as we stated previously, created the possibility for greater productivity per person within shorter time periods while maintaining high income levels. These changes have transformed the economy from one based on primary and secondary economic activity to an economy where 70 percent of the work force is in the services. So many of these service jobs are part of the omnipresent social organization of the new technologies, modern bureaucracy. Bureaucracy permeates every aspect of contemporary society. Bensman and Vidich (1971) have given us the most perceptive analysis of modern bureaucracy in their provocative book The New American Society.

The social costs of modern bureaucracy are enormous. Service workers are as dissatisfied with their work as blue-collars. The white collar blues are poignantly present in

the descriptions these workers give of their work situations (cf. Terkel, 1974:XXXIV; O'Toole, 1973). Service workers for the fast-growing leisure industries such as tourism are becoming a new proletariat. They lack organization, job security, decent working conditions, and wages. Many leisure service workers are migratory. Such constant mobility exacts a heavy social and psychological cost. Secretaries and lower echelon white collar workers are caught in the endless assembly line of taking paper out of the "in tray", dealing with it, and placing it in the "out-tray". The line never stops. The jobs are routine and repetitive even when waiting on the public, be it a government welfare bureau or at a fast-food counter.

Numbed by such non-satisfying work situations where secondary relationships predominate (most of these workers' jobs are in large metropolitan areas where gemeinschaft relationships are the rule), no wonder such workers seek primary social contact in their leisure pursuits. Research shows that people primarily go camping or trailering for sociality, not simply to be in nature (Burch and Wenger, 1967; Bosserman, 1973). Daniel Clary, a social geographer at the Université de Caen in France, has discovered similar motives among tourists who go to the Normandy coast for long or short vacations. They are seeking small-scale settings

and primary contacts with the people of the region. They have a sense that such contacts are authentic, in sharp contrast to the daily grind.

Freed time from work, of which leisure is the most influential part, is available. Such leisure time-blocks provide the opportunity for persons to develop alternative ways of social interaction. The cultural symbols of leisure--relaxation, taking it easy, "getting away from it all," a change of pace, and most importantly creativity-- provide the means for new social relationships to develop. The emphasis is upon openness to others, intimacy, direct contact, removal of masks, a movement away from "games people play" to a real efforts to relate to others without pretense. The process of cooperation is valued over that of competition.

Spurious leisure, however, abounds. Martin Meissner (1971) found that the "arm of the job" is exceedingly long. Leisure pursuits often reflect the kind of social interaction patterns which dominate the job. If an employee must work in isolation and suffer brutalizing noise at the same time, he/she will tend to do leisure in isolation, turning in towards the immediate family as the sole source of socializing. The burden of affect on the family becomes even more severe.

Moreover, as the worker moves from the work place to the free-time space the transition is most often too brusque.

The transition point is the bar or a place to take other sorts of drugs. With a beer or two one can go home without fear of taking it out on the spouse or kids. (Terkel, 1974: XXXV).

Perhaps the most serious cost of bureaucratic society is the growing privatization of leisure pursuits. Political participation is in decline. Instrumental voluntary associations today have fewer participants who devote shorter periods of time to these activities. This decline has occurred as the "lumps of leisure time" have become more available and in bigger chunks. Dumazedier's (1974:43ff) comparative studies of France and Russia show that the type of political system makes little difference. Seen over time, the participation in citizenship activities in Russia has declined as free time has become available--the very opposite of the public goal Russian planners had envisioned.

Finally, passive leisure activities such as TV viewing and mass spectator sports do not stress primary relationships, co-operation, or authenticity. Rather violence, competition, and elitism in the form of idealized "stars" are the rule. These mass spectator exhibitions can often wind up in tragic violence as happened at the Rolling Stone Concert in Altamont, California a few years ago.

In sum, leisure provides the opportunity for renewal of primary, I-Thou relationships - authentic social interaction.

This possibility comes at a moment when bureaucracy so often denies such relationships. The effect on the work experience itself can ameliorate the work place itself. A present value is a meaningful occupation, not just any kind of job (Yankelovich, 1974).

Yet the dominant modes of leisure are inauthentic and spurious. Passivity, violence, privatization are present in much of what people do after work hours. Such activities are self and socially destructive.

The New Leisure Values Related to Nature

Just as time is a determinative guide post for personal orientation to the world giving a sense of order, so space is an equally important means of locating one's place in the scheme of things. Like time, space is socially defined by persons living in groups. The concepts of space are a product of group living. Time makes no sense without duration in space. Space has meaning because of the social time or rhythm the group has developed. The notion of the "eternal return" is a time metaphor. The "return" is to some place.

Industriallzed societies' reliance on clock time carries over into spatial patterns. The modern factory is laid out in space in connection with efficiency calculated in part in terms of how to "save time." Likewise an office is organized

to conserve steps over space and in time. Such is the doctrine of efficiency.

Efficiency has its problems. If one pushes efficiency to the limit then all aspects of a system including people are replaceable and interchangeable. The closest thing to an absolute sense of space and time is a total institution like an asylum or a concentration camp (Moore, 1976). A totalitarian regime is absolutist by nature. Fascism extolled efficiency as one of the highest goods. Mussolini at the height of his power boasted that "The trains run on time." This very sentence contains the dimensions of space and time. Time and space were recognized implicitly as basic orientations for individuals and collectivities alike. The revolutionary character of fascism was clearly revealed in the re-ordering of time and space. "The trains run on time" symbolized a new kind of society.

Highly industrialized societies have placed a heavy value on efficiency. The economic and social costs are critical. The ecological imbalance facing advanced industrial societies is one aspect of the limits of efficiency. The general quality of life is in serious jeopardy. Pollution, crime, resource shortage, ugliness, blight and crowding are just a few of the problems. Size and growth are related to efficiency. Planned obsolescence, a seemingly

necessary aspect of economic growth, follows logically when productive efficiency is the basic goal.

There is a growing consciousness that the social costs of an uncritical efficiency are too great. This leads to a reassessment of the relationship of people to the environment, particularly the natural environment.

Within the context of free time and leisure an important set of values is appearing which has to do with human beings' relationship to nature both individually and collectively. Some of these values emerged out of the youth culture of the 1960's. Certain aspects of these have been present for a long time. The movement at the turn of the century to protect the wilderness is just an example.

Daniel Yankelovich's (1971:169-171) lists some of the values which form what he calls "the new naturalism." They are the values of a counter culture.

(1) Moving the Darwinian concept of nature as "survival of the fittest" into the background; placing emphasis instead on the interdependence of all things and species in nature.

(2) Living physically close to nature, in the open, off the land.

(3) Living in groups rather than as isolated individuals or in "artificial units such as the nuclear family.

(4) Deemphasizing realms of knowledge illuminated by science; instead, celebrating the unknown, the mystical, and the mysterious elements of nature.

(5) Emphasizing cooperation rather than competition.

(6) Looking and feeling natural.

(7) Rejecting mastery over nature, emphasizing harmony with nature.

(8) Deemphasizing organization, rationalization, cost-effectiveness.

(9) Emphasizing self-knowledge, introspection, discovery of one's natural self.

(10) Rejecting mores and rules that interfere with natural expression and function (e.g. conventional sexual morality).

(11) Emphasizing the preservation of the natural environment at the expense of economic growth and technology.

Yankelovitch sees youth searching for the sacred in nature. They value the effort to live in harmony with nature. This "adds a vital new dimension to this (romantic) tradition, one that cannot be dismissed as a mere romantic reaction to technological/materialist culture. It represents a basic shift in man's conception of himself and his place in the universe." (Yankelovich, 1971:178).

Herbert Passim (1975:821-50) comparative study of changing values among youth in various industrialized nations likewise notes that among industrial societies "we find a kind of 180 degree turn back to traditional concepts that one should subject oneself to nature or at least learn to live in harmony with it." (Passim, 1975:826).

The valuing of nature as a kind of sacred trust seems to be a prominent aspect of leisure. The shape of space is being transformed as much by leisure demand as by industrial production. Tourism, travel and camping are enormously popular examples. Sociality is one reason people travel; the other is to become part of the land uncluttered by industrial blight. There is a growing "reverence for life" in all its dimensions.

Yet, there is strong evidence that the impact of leisure services and activities upon the environment is destructive. The secondary and tertiary effects of Walt Disney World on central and southern Florida are just now being felt. The growth of leisure living centers for the upper-middle class and the rich have often destroyed valuable property, blocked access to beaches, created ugliness and blight rather than being concerned with the protection of a fragile eco-system. The automobile's use in leisure has been the most destructive of all. Massive

traffic tie-ups in resorts like Ocean City, Md. illustrate the increasing disjunction between the demand of people to enjoy the sea and the lack of adequate resource-protective means to get them there. The negative aspects of crowding further erode the enjoyment of the leisure experience.

Conclusions

The new values in leisure related to the person, to inter-personal relationships, and to an appreciation of nature seem real. They represent a new clustering of axial values, a new ethic. Research is required to discover whether this pattern is emerging. Attitude surveys give mixed results. A recent study which operationalized Robin Williams' (1970) conceptualization of dominant values in America confirmed that honesty, work and achievement still are most important (Christenson and Yang, 1976). Rokeach's (1968, 1973) studies also support these same values though there is variance among different segments of the population from what Christensen and Yang found. Passin's and Yankelovich's surveys of youth attitudes, on the contrary, suggest new axial values.

Much work must be done to discover whether the pattern I suggest is there or not. Meanings attached to behavior are essential to understand. Here the research is sparse.

I hope what I've sketched above will serve as a basis for studies that go beyond attitude surveys and look at depth into the life-styles being lived in the structure of new social times.

FOOTNOTES

[1] I am indebted to my colleague in philosophy, Dr. Mark Moore, for invaluable help in formulating some of these ideas about time.

[2] Tiryakian has been preoccuppied with the notion of history and time for the past few years but he fails to apply his analysis to changes in value structures as they relate to social time changes.

[3] Muelder's description of the transformation of the Protestant Ethic is especially valuable. I am particularly indebted to his analysis.

[4] Eric Fromm, Victor Frankel, Rollo May, Robert Coles, Erik Erikson, Abraham Maslow are others who have contributed to this notion of personhood. The philosophical school of personalism is equally important in this discussion.

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